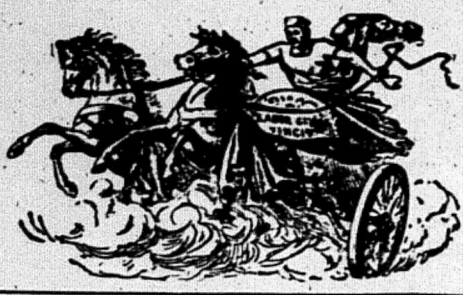


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The



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NEW YORK, JANUARY 15, 1899.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

A POLITICIAN.

Gov. Hazen S. Pingree Balks Before the Social Problem.

THE RACE'S PROBLEM TO BE GIVEN UP.

A Type of the Politician Class Utters a Cry that Denotes Impotence at Sight of the Social Problem, whose Laws they Cannot Fathom, whose Current they Cannot Stem, whose Approaching Storm in Terrifying thom-Potato-Patches Prove but a Tub to an Enraged Whale, and all Other Devices Prove themselves but so Many Other Potato-Patches in this Predicament, the du Pontian Throwing up the Sponge, Virtually, While the Socialist Alone, Guided by the Light of Science, Serenely Buckles Down to Work.

Gov. Pingree of Michigan has issued a message to the Legislature of his State. This is the season for such fruit: stacks of Governors have been doing the same thing. But this one is unique. Its merit consists in the portrait it takes of a portion of our "politician class," looking with scared eyes and empty heads at the approaching Social Storm. He says in part:

There is no feature of our times that should so alarm the patriot, nor is there any so well calculated to drive the well-meaning legislator to despair, as that which confronts us on all sides in the rapid concentration of all the productive energies of the nation in the hands of overgrown corporations, or multiple corporations, called Trusts, or where more solid combinations cannot be effected, by means of interlocking agreements for the purpose of limiting competition and controlling prices. The process began with the means of transportation, and communication, namely, the railroads, telegraph lines, and telephones. In spite of the feeble effort of the federal interstate commerce law to check the tendency, it has continued almost unintermitted, and promises to continue in the future. The process has invaded other fields with the power of a glacier and the rapidity of a torrent. One by one, each of the great staples which form the necessities of life is falling each into the hands of its special syndicate or trust, or trade combine.

Individual enterprise is without opportunity without hope. Individualism is disappearing from the land. The free, self-reliant American is becoming more and more rare. We are becoming a nation of slaves, who are the slaves of the natural and artificial monopolies of the nation, and of helplessly dependent servants.

No doubt the capitalist politician is in "despair." His landmarks of old are disappearing. The former spread-eagle style of oration by which he got into power is telling less and less. Quick reforms have been offered by the bushel; but debate speedily punctured each bubble. The gambler's hood, prophecies, promises that "good times" were bound to come, "after election," "after winter," "after the spring," "after the holidays," "after the war," "after the treaty of peace," after every imaginable thing, were one after another proved delusive. Despite the press' organized hysterical assurances that "the good times HAVE come," the pinch continues to be felt, and increasingly so.

What does the Pingree class of politicians know about the underlying causes of social distress? They see the Trust, that is to say the most improved method of production. But one sees not more than he has eyes to see with. Their eyes, untrained by study, accustomed to a superficial skinning of the surface, can not peer through the cloud that the Trust raises; they perceive not that all the hardships they complain about, all the loss of individuality, is ascribable, not to the concentration of gigantic powers of production, but to the private ownership of these concentrations. They braced themselves against concentration: as well might they have braced against the torrent of Niagara: one after another all their silly barriers were knocked aside by the irresistible law of economics and of human progress: Courts, Legislatures—all succumbed, or were broken through like cobwebs by a giant.

That all this happened obedient to a social law of progress that demands the production of the greatest amount of wealth with a minimum of labor, and that this end cannot be reached without just such concentration, our politician class knows as much about as the Chocaw does of algebra. Yet it is happening, and in the measure that it does happen our politician class is driven more and more to its wits' end for political issues. Despair? Despair hardly expresses the mental predicament of these gentlemen! They stand aghast, perplexed, helpless, as helpless as the naked Indian before natural phenomena that go beyond his untutored understanding.

Contrast the posture of this politician class with the Socialist. While the former is in despair, the latter is tranquil and confident; while the former is helpless, the Socialist feels himself master of the situation; while the former sees only ruin ahead, the Socialist perceives a clear solution—the placing in the hands of the people, who would not tyrannize themselves, the present industrial weapons, that, being owned by the capitalist class, are implements of oppression—a solution behind which looms up an individuality more radiant and noble than any the human race has yet witnessed.

And the Socialist puts on his armor to usher in that day, while the Pingree class stands shivering by.

IN READING, PA.

The S. L. P. Throws Down the Municipal Gauntlet.

READING, Pa., Jan. 8.—The city convention of the Socialist Labor party was held here at the Labor Exchange with Comrade Andrew P. Boyer as chairman. The convention was enthusiastic. It issued the following proclamation with the ticket attached:

PROCLAMATION.

The Socialist Labor party of Reading, conforming to the demands of the National organization and harmonizing with the economic emancipation movement of the world, whereby finally, through political and legal means, the present state of overproduction, industrial cannibalism and social disorder is to be substituted by the co-operative commonwealth and all means of production and distribution shall be owned collectively and operated scientifically by the people, presents the following declaration for the municipal campaign of 1899, and pledges its candidates, if elected, to do their utmost for their adoption:

1. Absolute self-government, abolition of the veto power of the Mayor, all measures to be submitted to the people for their approval or disapproval, the people to have the right to initiate legislation by petition.

2. No contract labor, all city work to be given directly by the city without the intervention of contractors or middle men, the workmen to elect their own superior officers, not by a general vote of the people; that eight hours shall constitute a legal work day, and that the minimum wages shall be \$2 per day. The city shall furnish permanent employment to those not employed by establishing public works and operated co-operatively under the control of the municipal administration.

3. We demand that the city establish good public markets, fuel yards and other agencies for the distribution of the necessities of life, to be sold at cost.

4. We demand the establishment of free public baths and reading rooms.

5. The establishment of public halls in City Park, where public meetings may be held without expense to the participants.

6. The establishment of a city pharmacy and medical department, that pure medicine and competent medical attendance may be had at minimum cost or free when necessary.

7. We demand that political economy be taught in all public schools.

8. We condemn the present system of vagrancy laws, which treat poverty as a crime.

9. Since we deem those who suffer in the field of productive labor just as worthy of regard as those who suffer on the field of battle, we demand that a special fund be established for the payment of pensions to the aged, sick and disabled.

10. The acquisition by the municipality of all public utilities, such as street railways, light, etc., the same to be operated co-operatively by the employees under the direction of the municipal administration, and no employee to be discharged for political reasons.

11. School education of all children under 16 years of age to be accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, etc., when necessary.

12. These are our immediate demands, the first step toward the realization of the Socialist Commonwealth, in which each worker shall enjoy the full fruit of his labor. To them we pledge our support. And we call on you to aid in carrying them into effect.

13. The Socialist Labor party never compromises truth to make a friend, never withholds a blow at error lest it make an enemy. In firm assurance of final victory, it pursues its course unswayed by desire for temporary advantage. It is ever outspoken and straightforward, believing that in fearless independence the integrity of purpose by which it is inspired, will, in the end, win the respect and confidence of those whom it aims to weld into a class-conscious, aggressive body. Its propaganda is not alone to educate: it is to organize the working class for the conquest of power, for the complete overthrow of capitalism. Until that mission is accomplished, will stand firm as a rock, yet alert and watchful, yielding nothing.

THE TICKET:

For Mayor:

E. W. LEFFLER.

13th Ward.

For City Controller:

WM. BUTLER.

13th Ward.

For City Treasurer:

W. C. HOVERTER.

8th Ward.

For City Assessors:

SAMUEL BUSBEY.

13th Ward.

ADAM SNECK.

12th Ward.

DANIEL HAFER.

9th Ward.

The capitalists have begun trying to intimidate our members, but we don't care worth a cent.

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire," that some time ago ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents.

WOMAN IN THE PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY.

[Address Delivered by Mrs. May Wood Simons Before S. L. P. Branches of Section Chicago.]

It is a fact now very generally acknowledged that the economics of life form the great fundamental basis of society. The way in which man makes his livelihood acts and reacts on the individual and society, changing the nature and environment of the one and the institutions of the other. The evolution of woman has been no exception to this universal law.

Among every people and in all ages the economic stage of the society in which she lived has been the great factor in determining her condition. With few exceptions the hunting and pastoral state, each an economic stage upon which savage society is based, but make her the burden bearer and sole worker of the family.

In this earliest form of society two classes appear; the working women and the warrior men. Speaking of this stage of society, Herbert Spencer says: "We read that custom limiting the actions of the men mainly to war and the chase, devolved on the women all the mental and laborious occupations. So rigidly are the women obliged to perform their duty that their husbands cannot help them on any occasion or in the greatest distress without incurring the highest ignominy."

In addition to having the care of her children she is compelled to build the home, carry all loads and often provide the food.

With almost the dawn of human life, moved by the mother instinct, we find her seeking and making a shelter for herself and helpless infant, thus becoming a house-builder, the first of the carpenters. It was she who went with the men to carry home the food from the hunt, and later digging the ground, planted the maize and potatoes, so being the food preparer and the mother of the farmers. When clothes were needed for the family, woman dried, softened and put together the skins of the animals killed. Later she wove the flax and wool and the household went forth clothed.

She first braided the bark and reeds into baskets, and shaped the clay into bowls, laying the foundation of the present great pottery making. In short, there is scarcely an industry that does not find its beginnings in the work of woman.

Physically a drudge from the beginning her mental faculties are narrowed and stunted, self-confidence is dwarfed and the power of initiative lost, while man's hunting and wandering but furnished opportunity for further growth and development, new ideas, a broader circle.

The ancient world paid little regard to its women, and this great half of humanity passed through all the phases of an evolution from a mere object of possession to a higher servant of her husband.

Even Athens, with all its ethical and esthetic ideas, had no conception of the equality of the mothers of her race. Her systems of philosophy found no place for woman.

In the middle ages, in that time called the Age of Chivalry, it must be remembered that historians have portrayed only the honor paid to women of the court. They have failed to picture fully the lives of the daughters and wives of the peasants who received no regard of rights from the hands of these same knights and whose lives were one long round of toil and mental depression. Excepting a court lady, a mistress or a sovereign, who through birth, beauty or talent had become a favorite, almost no mention is made of the women in the records or history of the time.

In all cases one fact is prominent that woman was made economically dependant on man. No other means of subsistence was open to her. Politically without rights and economically bound, they were more degraded than the laborer at the beginning of the 18th century.

With the opening of the industrial revolution in 1760 woman entered on a new stage of her evolution. The new industries found in her a valuable economic factor. She could manage a machine quite as well as a man and her service be obtained much cheaper.

Heretofore woman had been entirely domestic in her occupation. She had woven the cloth for the household and made the garments. Her work may be compared to that of the most primitive forms of society in that the produce was intended for use not for exchange. All was consumed in the home. Now for the first time woman began making things for commercial exchange, and it has been pointed out that, unlike the laborer, to her this change was complete. Many have shown that as the workingman saw his tools become machines the change was very great, that as he saw these instruments of production passing from his possession and becoming the property of another on whom he must depend for employment the revolution seemed complete; but few have enlarged on the fact that to woman this revolution WAS complete. Man had been gradually proletarianized and more for the market. The old domestic system was slowly giving place to a wider and wider circle of exchange. Woman formerly engaged wholly in work for home consumption stepped at once into the position of a social producer.

Says John Stuart Mill, speaking of this time from the standpoint of the capitalist: "Women employed in factories are the only women in the laboring class of life whose position is not that of slaves and drudges precisely because they cannot be compelled to work and earn wages in factories against their will."

To the superficial observer she thus seemed to have gained an economic freedom. The history of the period, however, records the fact that with the growth of great industries the labor of this being without legal rights was mercilessly exploited and the conditions under which she worked were most barbarous. At this point many draw attention to the long series of factory acts as a triumph of philanthropic legislation. This is a complete misunderstanding of conditions.

The two English parties, one the exponent of the landed nobility the other of the newly arising manufacturers, found themselves opposed in their interests. Hence the whole factory legislation, apparently for the benefit of the workingmen and women, was purely an outgrowth of the opposition of the Agrarian Tories and the Liberal manufacturers.

Werner Sombart, in his recent work on Socialism, enlarging on this point says: "It does not require much penetration to see that, for example, the radical English legislation in favor of the working man has come to pass only through the spite of the Tories, agrarian in their interests against the Liberal manufacturers."

Further, as another reason for these same Acts, he says: "Shrewd legislation in favor of the working man is an excellent weapon for the large concerns to use against the small in order to do away with the disagreeable competition of petty manufacturers."

All this seems to put on a different basis the so-called "brightest achievement of legislation."

J. S. Mill, the mouth-piece of the commercial spirit of the time, did not see the root of the matter or the further evolution of industry, and wrote with more disregard of the fact that many women would be compelled to work in the factories in order to live, and that no choice would be open to them.

Preaching the doctrine of "Freedom of Contract," he failed to see the influence upon that theory of the growth of a vast laboring class shut out from possession in the means of production who would come in time to depend on another social class for the privilege of work for subsistence.

What then, would become of their freedom of contract when it was a matter of livelihood? More, he did not see that woman, the weaker physically, would be at the bottom in this struggle for employment, and, having the double problem of the laborer and the sex, would lack the one defence the laborer has—a vote in political matters. The law of the "survival of the fittest," ever pushing the weaker members to the wall, marked her as the most exploited of an exploited class.

The century has witnessed woman's complete enlistment in all lines of industry, from the mine and factory to the physician and college professor. Two generations ago, ninety of the departments of labor were open to women. At present they are actively engaged in 343 industries. That women are gradually displacing men in the labor world is evident from the fact that in the twenty years from 1870 to 1890 their number has increased from 14 per cent. to 17 per cent. of the whole number of persons engaged in all industries, while the number of men has decreased in the same period from 85 per cent. to 82 per cent. The greatest absolute increase has been in the manufacturing and mechanical industries, where the 300,000 working women in 1870 has increased to one million in 1890, or three for every one before. Due to the greater use of machinery in the clock and watch-making trades, which till recently were largely hand industries, there has been the greatest relative increase in this work, the number of women having multiplied itself by four.

In viewing next particular occupations it is seen that women are filling certain industries at the expense of others. Already we have noted the gain in manufacturing and mechanical lines. Trade and transportation show an increase of five per cent., owing largely to women entering the offices as clerks. In the professions there has been a like gain. On the other hand the number of girls and women entering domestic service is continually diminishing. The whole number has decreased from 42 per cent. of all engaged in this industry to but 38 per cent. Their places as house-workers is being taken by men.

This vast increase of women in the labor world appears a dangerous thing to many, and is opposed not only by men, but by a part of her own sex. To those who watch the change of events, however, it seems but a transition stage in a natural evolution, and will eventually work out progress. At present only the numerous evil results are to be seen as society passes through this new stage. With women entering the factories, etc., the effect on the home and health and children has in many cases been most detrimental. It does not follow, however, as a

(Continued on page 4.)

THE VOTE.

Colorado's Increase Despite Counting Out—Fine Growth in Canada.

Owing to a typographical mistake, the total published last week was made about a hundred less than it actually was. Now, with the official returns from Colorado, which are about 200 less than the estimate, the total is 82,042. Only two States remain to be heard from finally: New Hampshire and Texas; in both the vote given last week is incomplete. The 82,000 are assured.

COLORADO.

DENVER, Colo., Jan. 6.—Below is the official vote of the S. L. P. for the State of Colorado, as given by the State Canvassing Board:

Governor, Nixon Elliott..... 1,786
Lieutenant Governor, N. H. Welling..... 1,881
Secretary of State, T. C. Davis..... 1,830
Attorney General, F. W. Bolker..... 1,820
Auditor of State, Christ. Miller..... 1,646
Treasurer of State, John P. Meyer..... 1,726
Superintendent of Public Institutions, Frances Naeke..... 1,481

As against 1,444 of last year, 140 votes were thrown on a Fremont County on a technicality, they had voted the straight ticket except a float Senator for whom our boys had no nominee. Also a good deal of counting out is claimed by the comrades in Pueblo County on account of the closeness of votes of the main parties. As the law does not allow us any watchers at the polls it may be taken for granted. The vote by counties has not been obtainable as yet, shall send in as soon as we have it.

Fraternally,

H. WARNECKE,
Secretary.

CANADA.

LONDON, Ont., Jan. 6.—In March, 1898, the S. L. P. entered the political arena in London, Ont., and made a record of 126 as the first vote for the S. L. P. in the Dominion of Canada. Four days ago, on the 2nd instant, Section London again took the field in the municipal campaign with 9 candidates. Following result is declared at the official count:

Mayor, Fred. J. Darch..... 656
Water Commissioner, Henry B. Ashplant..... 923
School Trustee, Ward 2, Jesse E. Barker..... 110
School Trustee, Ward 6, Marie Westland..... 138
ALDERMEN:
Ward 2, A. R. Barter..... 178
Ward 3, David Ross..... 221
Ward 4, James Farrar..... 357
Ward 5, Fred Appleton..... 325
Ward 6, Ed. Westland..... 118
Total..... 709

On the municipal voters' list, 10 per cent. of the votes in the March contest are not included as disfranchised by limitation.

BRANTFORD, Canada.—We went into the election with only 3 candidates and polled 250 votes, which is pretty fair being organized only three months. It is the thin edge of the wedge, however, and we will be heard from again.

IN ALLEGHENY, PA.

ALLEGHENY, Pa., Jan. 9.—We have put up the following ticket in this city:

For Mayor: Wm. J. Eberle.
Common Council, 2nd Ward: Hayden Morgan.
Select Council, 3rd Ward: Enos Schwartz.
Common Council, 5th Ward: Wm. Hunt.
Select Council, 6th Ward: R. W. Evans.
Common Council, 7th Ward: Emil Guwang.
Common Council, 7th Ward: John Zellhorn.
Select Council, 12th Ward: Henry Peter.
Common Council, 12th Ward: Wm. Weaver.
Common Council, 12th Ward: Frank Limbach.
Common Council, 13th Ward: J. J. Vossen.
Common Council, 13th Ward: W. Zrak.
School Director, 13th Ward: John E. Schmelz.
School Director, 13th Ward: Anton Feunich.
Ward Assessor, 13th Ward: Edward Schmelz.

In addition to the above we nominated candidates for the District Offices in the 13th Ward and a full ticket in Reserve township.

The convention first endorsed the national and municipal platforms of the S. L. P.

The city campaign opens with a lecture by Comrade Hickey in the banner Ward of Allegheny and Pittsburgh, the 15th Ward, Allegheny, where we rose from 26 votes in 1897 to 56 votes in 1898 and where we stand some show of electing our candidates or at least largely increase our vote. The organization in this Ward is good and we will have the ball jammed for Comrade Hickey—rain or shine. Our headquarters in the 15th Ward displays a banner bearing in letters two feet large the inscription: "Socialist Labor party, Branch No. 11. Proletarians unite." We will have a brass band of 18 pieces to greet Comrade Hickey. The band is to join the party in a body after the lecture.

The numerous calls that have come in for the New Bedford speech "What Means This Strike?" published in these columns some time ago, has determined the National Executive Committee to reprint it in pamphlet form. It can be had at the Labor News Company, 64 E. 4th street, this city. Single copies, 5 cents; 10 copies, 30 cents; 100 copies, \$2.50.

A PARSON.

Rev. Thomas Donohoe, D. D., Dodges the Social Problem.

THE RACE'S PROGRESS TO BE CHECKED.

Civilized Warfare has Established the Principle that War Must be Conducted in a Manner as to Spare Life as Much as Possible; as a Result of this Principle, no Quarter is Given to the Forces that Insist Upon Holding an Untenable Position, and Therefore to Increase the Danger of Life—So is the Social Warfare of today; He Who Unconsciously Advances Untenable Theories Deserves no Quarter; He Prolongs the Period When Humanity is Left Hanging on the Cross.—A Buffalo Pa. son illustrates Such Unconscionable Conduct.

Under the pretentious title of "Popular Progress, the Cause of Agricultural Depression and the Remedy," the Rev. Thomas Donohoe, D.D., has published a 236-page book, whose principal merit is to portray the attitude of a portion of the "parson class" in sight of the pressing Social Question.

Trained to a profession that talks glibly and in detail upon things that neither the parson himself nor anybody else knows anything about; accustomed to "hold forth" upon the most superficial of information; and yet, not without some feeling for existing distress, a portion of the "parson class" launches head foremost into the debate now going on in the Social Question, without previous and systematic study of the question; and, consequently, cuts a supremely ridiculous figure. So with the Rev. Donohoe of Buffalo.

In his book, the Rev. Donohoe pictures touching the miseries of the present day and its shocking social inequalities; he has sense enough to realize that Labor can not hold its own as things are on account of the ever increasing supply of itself in the Labor market; nor does he fall into the error that some do of attributing this (to Labor) fatal increase to immigration; he recognizes that the surplus Labor is connected with the machine. From this fact, however, he draws the final conclusion—that the solution of the problem and the remedy lie in the restriction of the production of further machines.—As logical were it to say, in sight of a highwayman caving in the skull of a wayfarer with a crow-bar, that the way to stop murder is to restrict the production of crow-bars. The crow-bar, in and of itself, is a useful thing; what causes the mischief is, not the crow-bar, but the application to which it is put: in the possession of a highwayman a crow-bar is a mischievous thing; in the possession of an honorable man the crow-bar is a beneficial tool. So with the machine of today: the mischief it works is no feature of itself; it is a feature of the system of its ownership; as the crow-bar, in the hands of a highwayman is a mischievous thing, so the machine in the hands of the capitalist class is mischievous; and, as the crow-bar, in the hands of an honorable man, is good, so likewise, the machine, in the possession of the workers, of the people, would be a source of blessings untold.

Long shelves of literature on the mission of the machine and the important part it plays in pushing the race upward from the animal into a human existence are evidently a terra incognita to our Reverend. Machinery can not be too perfect and too numerous for man: the more highly developed it is the greater are its potentialities for good because all the more plentiful is the supply of wealth it makes possible, and thus removes arduous, degrading toil from the shoulders of the race, thus enabling it to develop in intellect and in morals. That the machine fails, to do so this to-day, in fact, does just the reverse; produces intensified suffering among the masses and correspondingly degrading affluence among the few, is the result of the machine being privately owned. So owned its beneficent capabilities are blighted.

The solution offered by the Rev. Donohoe is worse than no solution: he would arrest progress; he would check the onward march of civilization; he would hold back a run-away horse by the tail. Compare that with the Socialist solution, which, taking social evolution by the hand, advocates the complete development possible of the machine, and the stripping of it of the shackles that now lame it: PUBLIC OWNERSHIP! The Socialist grabs the run-away horse by the head.

The way to move safely upon ice is to put on skates, that is to say, increase the slipperiness and, by such increase, remove the friction that makes walking dangerous. The Rev. Donohoe would, seeing that ice is slippery, increase the friction offered by shoe-leather, straw-soled, perhaps, and thus make walking hard, and the swift, exhilarating speed of the skater impossible. The Socialist says: on with the skates!

H. Simpson will lecture this evening on "Making of the Constitution" at Sylvan Hall, 2314 Second avenue, near 119th street, New York.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....	2,065
In 1890.....	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential).....	31,157
In 1894.....	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential).....	35,564
In 1897.....	55,673

Whither leads the path
To simpler fates that leads?
Not down through flowery meads,
To reap an aftermath
Of youth's vainglorious weeds,
But up the steep, amid the wrath
And shock of deadly-hostile creeds,
Where the world's best hope and stay
By battle's flashes, gropes a desperate way,
And every turf the fierce foot clings to bloods.
LOWELL.

USING THE WORKINGMAN AS POLITICAL STEP-LADDER.

When, about four years ago, the "Reform" wave beat high in this city, and Labor was called upon by our "best element" to gather under the leadership of these "Gentlemen" for the purpose of overthrowing the Tammany Hall regime of corruption, a note of double warning was issued from the Socialist camp. The workingmen were warned, not to imagine that "washed crime" was any better than "unwashed crime"; their attention was called to it that the "gentlemen" were not after "good government," that what they were after was to escape being forced to pay blackmail to the "unwashed crime" of Tammany Hall as hush-money for the crimes committed upon Labor by the "washed crime"; and finally they were warned that, to take sides in the issue between the two packs was but to allow the Labor vote to be used as a step-ladder by which the winning set would mount to political preference, and, thereby, to increased power to tyrannize the workers. All the same, "Reform" won. It is unnecessary to recall the facts that went to demonstrate the justice of the Socialist warning. The "Reforming" gentlemen reformed nothing but in their own behalf: the workingman continued trodden-down, and the labor laws were violated as much as before, with the only difference that, formerly, these violations had to be paid for to Tammany by the "gentlemen," while now the "gentlemen" themselves pocketed the bribe.

Three years of "Reform," and the "Reformers" were again knocked out, since which time they have set up again their old cry against Tammany. But in doing so now they simply add special confirmation to the justice of the Socialist warning.

A pink of the "Reformers" is Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, elected Governor last year. His first care is to do what? It is to show how criminally the Tammany Hall police neglect to enforce the labor laws in the city of New York! Now, this Roosevelt was, during the "Reform" administration, the head of the New York police. Did he during his term instruct his subalterns on their duties with regard to the labor laws? Not in the remotest! Did he, when examining them, ascertain their qualifications on that subject? Not at all; on the contrary, what he did examine them on was upon how to break strikes (labor riots, he called it), and how to use an "improved" club on the heads of the working people: from beginning to the end of his administration, the factory and other labor laws of the State remained in this city as dead a letter as they had been and continue to be under Tammany!

The important thing in connection with the picture thus presented is not that the quarrel between the "gentlemen" and Tammany is like a quarrel between the Pot and the Kettle. The point we desire to call attention to is that "the interests of Labor" in the mouths of their exploiters—whether these be Tammanyites or "Gentlemen"—are simply used as step-ladders to reach political power.

The Tammany exploiters being "out," they charge the "Gentlemen" with "neglecting the interests of Labor"; the "Gentlemen" being "out," they charge the Tammanyites with "neglecting the interests of Labor"; each, when out of power, is a devoted friend of Labor; in power, is a ravenous malefactor and political vampire as the other:

The Devil, being sick, the Devil a monk would be;
The Devil, being well, the Devil a monk was he.

C. L. Furman will lecture this evening on "Social Tendencies" at Wurzel's Hall, 315 Washington street, Brooklyn.

FIGHTING UNDER FALSE COLORS.

More than once one hears drop from innocent lips the remark: "The debates in Congress mix me all up." The present expansion debate that is going on will no doubt be no exception to the mixing up qualities of our capitalist disputations. It nevertheless, deserves close watching: if followed closely and approached with the key of Socialist science, the secret will be discovered of why these debates "mix up" the innocent; incidentally, the discovery will throw light upon kindred mysteries.

"Expansionists" are arrayed against "Anti-expansionists." The arguments they use are those of "ethics," "patriotism," "religion," "morality," "Americanism," etc., etc.; both sides thus seem to fight under the same banner. It must not be highly "mixing" to the uninitiated how "Americanism," "ethics," "religion," "patriotism" and what not can each furnish such opposing practical conclusions: the one resulting in the "demonstration" that expansion is all that is holy and anti-expansion all that is unholy; while the other results in the "demonstration" of all that is just the reverse. And yet how plain is not the mystery?

In the first place, our controversialists are not saying what they mean; they are both concealing what they mean; their real reasons for holding, as they respectively do, are not trotted forth into the field, and, consequently, not being exposed to being hit, are not overturned by one another; hence each side keeps its own field.

If the expansionists uncovered what they are really after, it would be found that their business, the industries that they represent and in whose behalf they are really speaking, need, in the opinion of these gentlemen, a broader market, and that that market can be best, easiest got by "expanding."

On the other hand, if the anti-expansionist capitalists were to open their hearts, it would be found that the interests of the industries they speak for would suffer by expansion.

Thus neither dares to say what he really means. Almost invariably the interests of one industry, in capitalist hands, flourishes best at the expense of another. If either admitted what he is after, he would forthwith give his adversary weapons against himself; thus, both sides dodge the question, set up false colors under which to conceal their motives, and shift the field of discussion from where it actually belongs to a field where it does not belong. Thus what they actually do is to raise a cloud—a cloud that does not confuse them but that can not choose but confuse the innocent on-looker.

In the second place, the mystery helps to illustrate the scientific principle of Socialism that all sentiment about "patriotism," "religion," "our Fathers," etc., is, not the foundation, but the shadow and reflex of material interests. To the capitalist, whose dividends, or plunder from Labor, will be so increased by expansion that he would be able to purchase some more rotten princess for his daughters, and regale himself with some more "Little Egypt" debauches,—to such a worthy expansion becomes the acme of "religion," of "patriotism," of "Americanism," of "our Fathers," etc.

And vice versa, to the capitalist, whose dividends i. e., plunder of Labor, are so threatened by expansion as to endanger the satisfaction of his lewd senses and his vulgar aspirations, to such "Pillar of Society" anti-expansion stands translated into the sublimest "Americanism," the purest "religion," the noblest "patriotism," the most hallowed reverence for "the Fathers."

Let the fact, like prominent phylacteries, be well kept in sight by the Working Class: only by so doing will it escape being duped by the phrases of phrase-mongers and schemers.

Material interests alone give direction to the aspirations of mankind, as a whole: civilization depends, therefore, upon the ascendancy of such material interests as turn the face of the race upwards. The material interests of the Capitalist Class turn the face of man towards the mire, hence Civilization demands their overthrow; the material interests of the Working Class turn the face of man towards a nobler life, hence Civilization orders their victory.

Get from under!

Wholly at a loss what new issue to set up in 1900 so as to deceive the masses of our people and themselves get again into political power, the capitalist class is now proposing the following two national platforms:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

The Stars and Stripes for Ever, Hooray!

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

Hooray, for Ever the Stars and Stripes!

Our capitalist class, sublimated though it has become into a plutocracy has not yet lost its small trader character of bargain counter loudness to attract customers.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The Chicago "Despatch," writing under the shadow of the ex-Convict Capitalist Yerkes and of the labor-sponging Papa-in-law of the Vice-Reine of India, settles the question of Socialism in short order. It says:

All distinctions based upon capacity, intelligence, or industry would be obliterated and the idle, the vicious, and the criminal would be quartered upon the State on equal terms with the most intelligent, industrious, and useful members of society as now organized.

Truly, as a Chicago comrade remarks on the subject, the bogie man of the Christmas Annual is not in it with this grisly spectre of Socialism evolved by the Editor from his inner consciousness, or more likely from an undigested mince-pie with brandy sauce.

The Wellington "Voice" says and the Independence, Kans., "Populist"—Pops both—reprints the opinion that

The Peoples' party will not disband. It will become a more formidable factor in the affairs of 1900 than it was in 1893.

Do not these redoubtable warriors of the middle class, holding such formidable language, while they are in full retreat, forcibly recall the passage in "The Eighteenth Brumaire" where Marx, describing the conduct of the French middle class in 1849, says:

The "Democratic Republic" next makes its bow: it goes out in a fizzle on June 13, 1849, with its run-away small traders; but, in fleeing, it leaves behind it all the more braggart announcements of what it means to do.

In an interesting correspondence from E. Balfour Bax, of London, England, recently published in the Minneapolis, Minn., "Tocsin," the long domination of capitalism is given as the cause of the degradation of the working class of England, and the accompanying lack of education among them as an impediment to Socialist education. He says:

Three generations of the modern great industry, or, if we reckon from the very beginning, nearly four, has made the bulk of the working class from sheer use and wont, stupid and subservient.

It seems that Bax misses the point wholly; that he tries to saddle Capitalism with the shortcomings of the English Socialists themselves.

It is not Capitalism that must alone bear the blame for the degraded condition in which the British workers are to be found. The British Socialists are themselves to blame, and theirs is the main blame. In a country like England, where Capitalism started as early as it did, and where, differently from here, the working class have an extensive history back of them, despite peculiar drawbacks, the Socialist movement should be further than it is. The principal reason for things being otherwise and for the ignorance that to-day blocks the path of Socialist education despite all object lessons, lies in that the British Socialists, as a rule, few to one or other extreme on the Trade Union question: They either abjectly bowed down before the Union, worshipping it like a fetish, or they denounced it wholly, sweepingly, one of their leaflets going so far as to bear the heading: "To Hell with the Trade Unions."

Now, the economic movement of the workers is an irrepressible affair; to ignore or fear at it is equivalent to allowing electricity free, i. e., destructive sway. On the other hand, to bow down before it as a thing sacrosanct, despite its serious limitations, is equivalent to confirming the errors that are congenial with it owing to the limited opportunities of its members to oversee the whole field and thus grasp the situation. It is such a policy that is to-day mainly answerable for the unquestionable backwardness of the class-conscious movement in England.

This fact is not to be overlooked here. Fortunately the S. L. P. of America has at last struck the right course, though none too soon, and has taken the only position that is in conformity with the facts, and that will save the Labor Movement of America the trials that it is subject to in England.

The San Francisco, Cal., "Class Struggle" quotes the following item from the "Call" of its own city:

Recently a Connecticut girl was murdered, and before the body had been identified the parents of ninety-two missing daughters had written to the authorities, fearing their child was the victim. Connecticut is a very small State, too. There is a sermon in the episode; and, justly indignant, observes:

Yes, there are several sermons in the episode, but sermonizing will not cure the evil. The "ninety-two missing daughters" are only a very small contingent of the vast army of 100,000 girls who in this country alone, annually, are dragged down into prostitution. Talk of negro chattel slavery! It would not cast a shadow beside the blackness of the slavery of prostitution that has developed under the damnable, grab-game, competitive system, which still has the political support of the great mass of the very fathers of the girls who have been driven into the social evil by economic pressure.

And that Connecticut is the State that a Platt represents in the United States Senate,—the Platt who would carry "American Civilization" to the Philippines, and, if necessary, ram it down their throats. Does this Platt represent the unfortunate Connecticut working class whose daughters are driven in such numbers to despair? Is the civilization he wishes to enforce on the Tagals the civilization that produces such misery?

Will the Milford, Conn., "Citizen" come to the rescue of the Senator?

THE "TOBIN-RESOLUTION" AND TAIL-END POLITICS.

[From N. Y. "Vorwaerts," German Organ of the S. L. P.]

In a report of the convention of the A. F. of L., which Max Hayes publishes in the Cleveland "Citizen," an incident is narrated from which our comrades may derive valuable lessons on tactics. The incident shows how valueless are declarations in favor of "independent Labor political action," when they do not at the same time announce that what is meant thereby is political action under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party,—the only representative of honest and actual independent Labor politics.

Hayes reports that Tobin, the former Socialist and now Debeist President of the Shoeworkers' Union, announced at the second day's session, Dec. 13, that the shoeworkers on strike in Marlboro had set up a "Labor Ticket" there in the municipal election, and had just conquered the whole municipal government.

This Tobin was the leader of the "sensible" Socialists at the convention, i. e., of those to whom the Socialist Labor Party is too dogmatic, too intolerant, too tyrannical. He was the mover of the resolution, that the convention rejected with 1,807 votes against 490, and that, in accord with the said "sensible" folks, avoided "dictating" to the members of the unions what particular party to support, but rather limited itself to a general declaration in favor of independent political action by the working class.

To the inexperienced, an express declaration in favor of "independent political action by the working class" may appear wholly incapable of being subject to a double sense. He, however, who has followed the manoeuvres of the fakirs in the American Labor Movement, knows that even this seemingly unequivocal expression can be twisted into a justification for the most contemptible political logrolling.

For some time, Gompers and his colleagues in the administration of the A. F. of L. have been publishing in their official organ, "The American Federationist," a programme of tactics wherein "the independent use of the ballot by the trade unionists and all other workmen," "united action by the workers at all elections," and all other things looking to the "concentration of our forces against every form of industrial slavery" are advocated. Gompers, McGuire & Co. by no means mean by this declaration of "independence" that the workmen should quit constituting the tail-end of the capitalist parties; what they mean is that the workmen should simply avoid BINDING themselves to the capitalist parties, to the end that their hands remain free to attach themselves, as tail-end, now to the one and then again to the other. It was, for instance, in accordance with such interpretation, given to the "united," "independent" political action of Labor, that the thing was put into practice by the workmen of Utica, in so far as, at the last election, they united their ballots, "independently" from their former party affiliations, upon the Republican candidate for Assembly, Williams, the present President of the Brotherhood of Carpenters; by the workmen of Massachusetts, "independence" was put into practice in so far as, at the late election, they "united" their ballots upon the Democratic candidate for Secretary of State, the former President of the Brotherhood, Harry Lloyd.

A general declaration in favor of independent Labor Politics, is, accordingly, by no means to be accepted as an endorsement of revolutionary, Socialist Labor Politics. If the declaration does not expressly specify the representative of this Labor Politics,—the Socialist Labor Party,—then, as the Gompersites have proven, it may be construed as a declaration against the S. L. P. and in favor of the usual tail-end style of Labor Politics.

By the light of the experience made, the adoption of such a general declaration is by no means enough to define the actual tactics of those who adopt it.

Tobin gave additional demonstration hereof by the way he represented the election of Marlboro. He announced as a victory of independent Labor Politics an election, that the capitalist press reported as follows:

Edward J. Plunkett, DEMOCRATIC and CITIZENS' and WORKINGMEN'S candidate for Mayor, swept the city today. In addition to this his party landed 5 out of 7 Aldermen and easily controls the Common Council.

The result is largely attributed to the existing labor trouble, it being alleged that Labor and Capital in the respective halls of Democratic and Republican Majority candidates were arrayed against each other.

Mayor-elect Plunkett has had several years' experience in both branches of the city government, and it is expected that he will give the city a splendid business administration.

The so-called "independent" Labor Politics of Marlboro was actually TAIL-END politics; the "Citizens' and Labor" party was a bogus Labor party, that was called into existence in order to exploit in the interest of the Democratic party the then rebellious spirit among the working people in the town. It was the identical style of "independent" Labor politics that Gompers, McGuire and Harry Lloyd advocate. Comrade Martha Moore Avery, who tried to agitate for Socialism among the striking shoeworkers of Marlboro, gives in a report, published in THE PEOPLE (Dec. 25) some interesting points about that "Labor Party." She found, as chief manipulator of the same, a certain Murray, who is known among the shoeworkers as a bitter enemy of Socialism and of honest Labor politics. At a campaign meeting, at which this Murray presided, she found the above-named ex-President of the Brotherhood of Carpenters officiating as the leading speaker. She heard this leading speaker pronounce his activity as vote-catcher for capitalist politics, an exemplification of the principle of "independent Labor politics": he had not always been a Democrat, said he, but "only when the Democrats had a labor platform." Lloyd wanted to have it understood that, at the State election, when he figured as a candidate on the regular Democratic ticket, the same as in

Marlboro, where he was agitating for the Democratic Mayoralty candidate, he was carrying on labor politics.

Such was the nature of the Marlboro campaign, which Tobin proclaimed as an independent campaign of the workmen. By doing so he endorsed the fakirism that hucksters treacherable, capitalist politics as honest Labor politics. He thereby betrayed the fact that his conception of "independent Labor politics" does not necessarily exclude such tail-end politics; that, accordingly, a declaration proceeding from him in favor of independent Labor politics, is not to be taken in the revolutionary, Socialist and honest sense.

The Tobin resolution formulated correctly the aims and tactics of a Socialist Labor Movement. Nevertheless, it was worded in a general, abstract manner. It did not point to the party through which those aims and tactics were to be carried out; it left the trades unions free as to the manner of carrying out the independent political activity, declared to be necessary. Hence, it could have been twisted into a justification of the indirect or direct practice of tail-end politics, according to the style of Lloyd's; hence, also, it could be moved by a man who was at the same time applauding the tail-end politicians. For that very reason it was of no value.

It looks very much as though our wooden nutmeg partiers are about to be taught by the Tagals a valuable lesson in sociology that will take them down a peg or two in their preposterous conceit. Our country has grown in size, in wealth, in power. These wooden nutmeggers ascribe all this to some occult powers, latent in their nasal twang and swindle, and not at all to honest, industrious labor: They ignore the fact that, upon the heels of our soldiers, who westwardly fought the Indians, there followed an "army of occupation," the best sort of army of occupation possible, to wit, the SETTLERS. Thus every inch of ground taken by force of arms could be kept, and the advancing columns of soldiers were thus closely followed by their base of supplies.

Not so stands the case with their invasion of the Philippines. Large wastes of water impeded any close following of our troops by the SETTLER—even if the settler would care to settle in malarial tropics, and even if the mail from Manila, which our wooden nutmeggers are tampering with, were not to warn potential settlers from constituting themselves into the necessary "army of occupation."

There are lessons in store for many a one.

The Right to Life.

[Written for THE PEOPLE by Stanislas Cullen, Spokane, Wash.]

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights; that among these are Life, etc."—Declaration of Independence.

"The Right to Life," what does it mean in the land of the "brave and the free"? Does it mean the "Right" of the worker to starve when a machine puts an end to his life?

Does it mean the "Right" of the child to toll in the days God has made for play?

Does it mean the "Right" of the poor man's girl to sell her priceless pearl for pay?

Does it mean the right of the rich to rule, and the right of the poor to be slaves?

With the right to the "Freedom of Contract" in life and the right to fill paupers' graves?

Not so! Not so! by the souls of the men who wrote this sentence down.

By the blood of reformers and martyrs from Christ to old John Brown.

By the words and deeds of a Lincoln; by the sacrifice of the brave

Who fought and died to free our land from the scourging stock and the slave.

The "Right to Life" means the right to love and the freedom of man to toll.

And to have ALL the fruit of his labor; to have free access to the soil, and to live as long as the rich man lives; to have brains with hearts full of glee.

That's what the "Right to Life" implies in the land of the brave and the free.

That is the "Right" for which we stand, and no lesser "Right" will we take.

Competitive slavery must give way, then people at last are awake.

The age of the Capitalist has passed; the age of the Brother begins.

The golden rule which our fathers al- loved, our children shall punish as slurs.

Rent, Interest, Wages and Profit once more to their housing place in hell.

Shall I return for aye, and to their Master say they have a wonderful story to tell.

Of how man at last the truth has grasped: that the best life is to be

His brother's keeper, and both sower and reaper, in the land of the brave and the free.

Then no child will be compelled to toll ere he has learned to play;

No mother's loving heart shall break for a daughter gone astray.

Compelled by competition's curse to sell for Virtue and Youth and Happiness: Not so!

A free and loving people—no tramp, no where each man has the "Right to Work" and no one steals his share;

Where "love ye one another" the common law shall be.

And the "Right to Life" shall be enforced in the land of the brave and the free.

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BOSTON, MASS.

THE PEOPLE is for sale at the following places:

Geo. G. Leavitt, 152 Harrison Avenue, Boston, 935 Washington Street, John Braithwaite, 84 West Canton Street.



Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan.

Brother Jonathan (shaking his head dolefully and sighing to match—"Tis sad, 'tis sad!)

Uncle Sam—Has the pest broken out among your friends, and carried them all off?

B. J.—That would be sad enough; but what I sigh over is, we seem, sadder still. (More sighs and more doleful shakings of the head.)

U. S.—Tell me all about it, old boy; I may be able to give you consolation.

B. J. (looking enraged)—YOU? Consolation from YOU? Why, you are as bad as any of them, if not the worst of the lot.

U. S.—Come! Come!

B. J.—I'll show you. I have just seen THE PEOPLE'S "New Year's Greeting." And on it as an inscription: "Workmen of all countries unite!"

U. S.—Isn't that all right?

B. J. (impatiently)—I should say it WAS all right; but not on a Socialist Labor party picture.

U. S.—Hey!!!

B. J. (angry)—No; not on a Socialist picture! You Socialists don't act as if you want to unite the workmen. You fight everything. One set of workmen want free trade and hang you, you have to quarrel with them; another set expresses itself in favor of protection and you fall like a pile of bricks on them. (Angrier.) If another, honest lot set up a party for free silver there you are jumping on 'em. (Still angrier.) If some good intentioned people organize an "Army Party," why you begin to throw mud at them. You won't go together with anybody and you try to smash up everything. You jump upon everybody with hammer and tongs. You call that "uniting" the working class?

U. S.—Through?

B. J.—Yes, I am through.

U. S.—What's the matter with you is that you can't read English.

B. J.—I can't? Can't I?

U. S.—Exactly. You don't know what the word "unite" means.

B. J.—I don't? It means to bring together.

U. S.—And you understand by the command to bring the workmen together that they CAN be brought and kept together on any issue?

B. J.—Why certainly, simply bring them together.

U. S.—See here. You are quite a shot, I know.

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Now, if you set a platoon of soldiers aiming at a target, which are the shots that will come together?

B. J.—Those that hit bull's-eye.

U. S.—Just so. And what shots will hit bull's-eye?

B. J.—Which?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Those that are aimed correctly.

U. S.—Correct! If you want to have a lot of bullets fall together, they must be shot correctly. If so shot they hit the same mark; if not correctly shot they will fall apart. Accident may bring one, or two, or a few more together but these will fall apart from the bulk, and the bulk of them will fall far apart from one another. Bull's-eye is one spot, there the correctly shot ones unite; the whole immensity of space is there for the others and there will be as many spots hit by them as there are different spots in space. So with men. To come together, to be united, they must unite on what is right and correct. There is but one correct thing on which to unite. On an incorrect thing there is no unity possible because the incorrect things are as numerous as the spots in space that wrongly aimed bullets may hit. Furthermore, to "come together" is of no use unless one can "keep together."

Error is so numerous that unity upon it is absurd. When, therefore, the Socialists call upon the workmen to unite, they can not mean that they should come together on error. The Socialists know that enough men can not unite on any error, let alone stay together. THE great scatterer of the workingman is, therefore, not the Socialist who points out the right point and methods; the scatterer is he who fails to learn "how to shoot," who interferes with those who are teaching this art, and who howls "unite," "unite," while he is in fact, knowingly and unknowingly, keeping the people apart. Now, my man, that's all there is about it. You are misaddressing your sighs.

